

創価大学  
国際仏教学高等研究所  
年 報

平成27年度  
(第19号)

Annual Report  
of  
The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology  
at Soka University

for the Academic Year 2015

Volume XIX

創価大学・国際仏教学高等研究所  
東京・2016・八王子

The International Research Institute for Advanced Buddhology  
Soka University  
Tokyo・2016

# Meanings of *bian* 變, *bianxiang* 變相 and *bianwen* 變文\*

Seishi KARASHIMA

## Prologue

Concerning the meanings of *bian* 變 and *bianwen* 變文, which appear in the titles of 18 Dunhuang manuscripts<sup>1</sup>, there have been dozens of articles<sup>2</sup> written, but their meanings and definitions remain obscure. As is pointed out, they are clearly related to paintings.<sup>3</sup> However, as their meanings have not been clearly defined, some Dunhuang documents, which are apparently nothing to do with paintings, are often incorrectly labelled in modern publications as *bianwen*. In addition, it is not yet clear how they are related to paintings. At first, we shall investigate the meaning of *bian* 變 in Chinese translations, which have parallels in other languages, and then in non-translation texts. After that, we shall examine the meaning of *bianxiang* 變相, and finally clarify what *bianwen* 變文 means.

## (1) *Bian* 變, meaning “design; figure; picture”, in Chinese translations

### (1.1) *Bian* 變, meaning “design”, in the Chinese translation of the *Samantapāsādikā*

In the *Shanjianlü Piposha* 善見律毘婆沙 (T. 24, no. 1462), a Chinese version of the *Samantapāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa’s commentary on the Pāli *Vinaya*, translated by Saṃghabhadra in 489 C.E. in Guangzhou 廣州, the word *bian* 變, meaning “design” occurs:

On an oil-pot either made of horn or bamboo ... one cannot make any figures of man or woman but one can make [other] figures. On a pillow-cover, floor-carpet, foot-mat ... the bowl-cover, the leaf of the palm-fan and things like these — on these one may carve down various kinds of big designs (諸變).<sup>4</sup> (Sp[Ch.tr]225f.)

\* I should like to thank Peter Lait, Susan Roach and Rieko Ishizaka for checking my English. I am grateful to Qiu Yunqing, who investigated all the occurrences of *bian* 變 in the Chinese Buddhist Canons, using the database, on my request; to Li Cheng-Jung, who checked the quotations from the Chinese texts.

<sup>1</sup> They are 破魔變, 降魔變, 八相變, 頻婆娑羅王后宮綵女功德意供養塔生天因緣變, 漢將王陵變 (2 manuscripts), 漢八年楚滅漢興王陵變, 舜子變, 劉家太子變, 醜變; 降魔變文 (2 manuscripts), 大目乾連冥間救母變文 (4 manuscripts), 大目犍連變文 and 舜子至孝變文. Cf. Kanaoka 1990: 65f.; Takai 2011 (concerning *Choubian* 醜變).

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Mair 1989: 36~72; Kanaoka 1990: 61~84; Wu 1992; Arami 2003; Yu 2009: 25~67; Arami 2010: 3~61. Mair introduced around forty theories about these expressions. He himself maintains that *bian* means “supernatural transformation”.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Mair 1989; Kanaoka 1990: 65~82; Arami 2003 etc.

<sup>4</sup> T. 24, no. 1462, 728b18~23: 油筒法者, 用、角、竹、胡蘆、貞木, 不得作男女形狀作狀。隱囊、覆地、腳巾、經行、机囊、掃帚、糞箕、染盆、澆水器、磨腳、瓦石、澡洗板、鉢支、三杖鉢支、鉢蓋、多羅葉、扇, 如是諸物, 得作倒巨刻鏤諸變。In a similar context in the same text, *xíngmó* 形模 (“design”)

The parallel sentences of the Pāli version of the text read as follows:

On an oil-pot either made of horn or bamboo ... one may make any decoration (*vaṇṇa-maṭṭhakamma*) except for figures of a man or woman. On a bed, a chair, a cushion, a pillow-cover, floor-carpet, foot-mat ... a bowl-cover, the handle of a palm-fan and a fan — on all of these, one may make decorations of designs of garlands etc. (*mālākammādi-vaṇṇamaṭṭhakamma*)<sup>5</sup>.

It is clear that *bian* 變 corresponds to either *vaṇṇamaṭṭhakamma* (Skt. \**varṇamṛṣṭa-karman*; “lit. painting and polishing; decoration”) or *kamma* (Skt. *karman*) of *mālākamma* (“wreath design”; cf. *latā-kamma* “creeper design”).

### (1.2) *Bian* 變, meaning “figure”, in the *Amoghapāsakalparāja*

In the Chinese translation of the *Amoghapāsakalparāja*, namely *Bukong juansuo shenbian zhenyan jing* 不空羼索神變真言經 (T. 20, no. 1092), translated by Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (fl. 693~722 C.E.) in 709 C.E., we find descriptions of the four small halls in which statues of various Buddhas and Bodhisatva are placed. Such statues are designated as *bian* 變:

Further, outside (the external court 外院), (four) halls of 10 *hastas* (ca. 450 cm) in length and width are to be built; the earth should be cleaned and smeared (with cow dung).

(In the hall), which faces the west gate of the (main) *maṇḍala* (hall), a round *maṇḍala* of 8 *hastas* (ca. 360 cm) in diameter (should be built). Its platform should be 2 *hastas* (ca. 90 cm) high and be painted according to the teachings. Only the east gate (of the building) should be open. (The inside should be) adorned with banners and flowers, arranged in rows. Within it, a figure (變) of Amitābha Buddha in the Pure Land (淨土阿彌陀佛) should be placed, facing east. Manifold flowers, incense, food, drink, and fragrant water should be laid out as offerings.

(In the hall), which faces the north gate of the (main) *maṇḍala* (hall), a rectangular *maṇḍala* of 8 *hastas* (in length and width should be built). Its platform should be 2 *hastas* high and be painted according to the teachings. Only the south gate (of the building) should be open. (The inside should be) adorned with banners and flowers. Within it, figures (變) of Vairocana Buddha, Kṣitigarbha Bodhisatva, Maitreya Bodhisatva and Amoghakrodharāja should be placed, facing south. Many flowers, incense, food, drink, and fragrant water should be laid out as offerings.

(In the hall), which faces the east gate of the (main) *maṇḍala* (hall), a rectangular *maṇḍala* of 8 *hastas* (in length and width should be built). Its platform should be 2 *hastas* high and be painted according to the teachings. Only the west gate (of the building) should be open. (The inside should be) adorned with banners and flowers, arranged in rows. Within it, figures (變) of Śākyamuni Buddha, \*Vajrapāṇi-guhyakādhīpati (執金剛

instead of *bian* 變 is used: 728b10f. 刀子法者，不得刻鏤作禽獸形模 (“If he has a boring-awl [*āra-kaṇṭaka*] for cutting, then he cannot carve designs of birds and beasts on it.” [cf. Sp(Ch.tr)225]).

<sup>5</sup> *telabhājanesu visāṇe vā nāliyaṃ vā ... thapetvā itthirūpaṃ purisarūpaṇ ca avasesaṃ sabbam pi vaṇṇamaṭṭhakammaṃ (←°maṭṭa°) vaṭṭati. mañcapīṭhe bhisibimbohane bhūmattharaṇe (←°ṇa) pādapuñchane ... pattapīdhāne tālavaṇṭe ca vījane (←°vījāne) etesu sabbam mālākammādi-vaṇṇamaṭṭhakammaṃ (←°maṭṭa°) vaṭṭati* (Sp II 293.12~20).

祕密主) Bodhisatva, \*Amoghapāśasiddhirāja (不空羼索悉地王) and \*Amoghama-hākrodharāja (不空大奮怒王) should be placed, facing west. Flowers, incense, food, drink, and fragrant water should be laid out as offerings.

(In the hall), which faces the south gate of the (main) *maṇḍala* (hall), a rectangular *maṇḍala* of 8 *hastas* (in length and width should be built). Its platform should be 3 *hastas* high. Every sides of the *maṇḍala* should be decorated with images of mountains and painted according to the teachings. Only the north gate (of the building) should be open. (The inside should be) adorned with arrangements of manifold banners and parasols. Within it, figures (變) of \*Amoghapāśa-avalokiteśvara (不空羼索觀世音) Bodhisatva, Lokendrarāja Tathāgata and Mañjuśrī Bodhisatva and a statue (像) of Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin should be placed, facing north. Many flowers, incense, food, drink, fragrant water, incense made from white sandalwood, aloe wood, the *uruṣka* herb, camphor and saffron, should be laid out as offerings.<sup>6</sup>

In the Sanskrit version of the same text, the parallel part (80 *verso* 7~81 *recto* 3)<sup>7</sup> reads as follows:

To the west (of the main *maṇḍala* hall), upon an elevated round platform, a fine cloth (with a painting) of Sukhāvatī should be hung, facing the (main) *maṇḍala* and then, a figure (*bimba*) of Amitābha, (figures of) the holy Avalokiteśvara and Mahāsthāmaprāpta should be placed there as well.

To the east (of the main *maṇḍala* hall), upon a high and rectangular platform, a cloth (with a painting) of *Vimokṣamaṇḍala* should be hung, facing the (main) *maṇḍala* and then, a figure (*bimba*) of Śākyamuni, (figures of) the holy Vajradhara and Amogha-pāśakrodha should be placed there as well.

To the south (of the main *maṇḍala* hall), upon a high, mountain-shaped platform, a cloth (with a painting) of Amoghapāśa should be hung, facing the (main) *maṇḍala* and then, (figures of) Lokendrarāja Tathāgata, Mañjuśrī and Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhin should be placed there as well.

To the north (of the main *maṇḍala* hall), upon a high, same-shaped platform (as before), a cloth (with a painting) of Krodharāja should be hung, facing the (main) *maṇḍala* and then, (figures of) Vairocana Tathāgata, Maitreya and Kṣitigarbha should be placed there as well.

In all (these small halls), the places (where the holy ones are placed) should be decorated; decorations with silk cloth and garlands should be made; all sorts of decora-

<sup>6</sup> T. 20, no. 1092, 302c13~303a2. 復於其外作十肘院，淨治塗地。當壇西門八肘圓壇。基高二肘如法圖畫。唯開東門。種種幡華敷列莊飾。中置淨土阿彌陀佛變，面東。以諸華、香、飲、食、香水布獻供養。當壇北門八肘方壇。基高二肘如法圖畫。唯開南門。種種幡、華敷置莊嚴。中置毘盧遮那佛變、地藏菩薩變、彌勒菩薩變、不空奮怒王變，面南。以諸華、香、飲、食、香水布獻供養。當壇東門八肘方壇。基高二肘如法圖畫。唯開西門。種種幡華敷列莊嚴。中置釋迦牟尼佛變、執金剛祕密主菩薩變、不空羼索悉地王變、不空大奮怒王變，面西。以諸華、香、飲、食、香水布獻供養。當壇南門八肘方壇。基高三(或二)肘。壇外四面作飾山形如法圖畫。唯開北門。種種幡蓋(或華)敷置莊嚴。中置不空羼索觀世音菩薩變、世間王如來變、曼殊室利菩薩變、除一切障菩薩像，面北。以諸香華、飲、食、香水、白栴檀香、沈水香、蘇合香、龍腦香、鬱金香敷獻供養。

<sup>7</sup> This part of the manuscript, now preserved in Lhasa, is transcribed in: *Annual of the Institute for Comprehensive Studies of Buddhism*, Taisho University, Tokyo, vol. 26 (2004): 179~180.

tions should be made; a pitcher, filled with water, should be brought in; heaps of incense should be made; manifold sorts of (drink?) of excellent taste and manifold sorts of food should be piled up; manifold kinds of fruit should be piled up; alms-food should be heaped up; alms-food should be placed; mixed incense from sandalwood, aloe wood, the *turuṣka* herb, camphor, musk and saffron, should be offered to the painted cloth.<sup>8</sup>

It is clear that *bian* 變 in the Chinese translation corresponds to Skt. *bimba* (“an image, picture; figure”) both of which do not mean “a painting” but rather “a figure, statue” in the above-quoted sentences.

### (1.3) *Bian* 變, meaning “painting”, in the *Mūlasarvāstivāda-vinaya*

Also, in the Chinese translation of the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the *Mūlasarvāstivādins*, *Genben Shuoyiqieyoubu Pinaye Zashi* 根本說一切有部毘奈耶雜事 (T. 24, no. 1451), translated by Yijing 義淨, around 710 C.E., we find the expression *bian* 變 in the context of painting pictures:

Having donated the garden of (Jetavana to the Buddha), Anāthapiṇḍada thought as follows: “If there is no painting, (the monastery) is then not majestic. If the Buddha allows, I shall adorn (the monastery).” Thereupon, he went to the Buddha. The Buddha said: “You can paint as you like.” Hearing the Buddha’s permission, he collected colouring materials and made painters come and said: “Here are colouring materials with which you should paint the monastery.” They replied: “With which place should we start? What do you want to make us paint?” He replied: “I, myself, do not know. I shall ask the Buddha.” The Buddha said: “O householder! On (each of) the double doors of the (main) gate, a *yakṣa*, holding a staff, should be painted. Then, on one side (i.e. of the door), a painting of the Great Miracle (大神通變), while on the other side, the wheel of the five destinies of birth and death should be painted. Under the eaves (of the main gate?), stories of the past lives (of the Buddha) should be painted. On the sides of the gate of the Buddha-hall, *yakṣas*, holding garlands (*mālā*), should be painted. On (the wall of) the lecture hall, a scene of an elder monk’s proclaiming the essence of the Dharma should be painted. On (the wall of) the dining hall, *yakṣas*, holding rice-cakes, should be painted.

<sup>8</sup> *paścimadiśābhāgena uccaparimaṇḍale Sukhāvāṭīvyūhaduṣyapaṭaṃ* (←*paṭe*) *maṇḍalam abhimukhaṃ sthāpya Amitābhabhimbam āryāvalokiteśvaraṃ Mahāsthāmaprāptaṃ ca sthāpayam, pūrvvadiśābhāge catu{ra}sra-m-uccasthāne* (←*āna*) *Vimokṣamaṇḍala{m}duṣya<m> maṇḍalam abhimukhaṃ sthāpya Śākyamunibhimbam āryaVajradharaṃ Amoghapāśakrodhaṃ ca sthāpayam, dakṣiṇadiśābhāge Amoghapāśaduṣyam parvatākāra-uccasthāne maṇḍalam abhimukhaṃ sthāpya Lokendrarājas tathāgataṃ sthāpya Mañjuśrī Sarvanivaraṇaviṣkambhīṇaṃ ca sthāpayam, uttarasmi diśābhāge Krodharājaduṣya maṇḍalam abhimukhaṃ sthāpya Vairocanaṃ tathāgataṃ Maitreyaṃ Kṣitigarbhaṃ ca sthāpayam evamākāram uccasthānam. sarvveṣv alamkṛtāsaṇam karttavyam, paṭṭadāmābhyalamkṛtaṃ ca karttavyam, sarvvālaṅkāravibhūṣitaṃ pūrṇnakumbho paricaritaṃ gandhamaṇḍa<la>kam ca kārayam nānāvividharasārasāgraśukla nānārūpabhakṣaparakāra-āhāro paricitaṃ nānāphalaracitaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ nicitaṃ piṇḍapātaṃ sthāpayitavyam. candanāgarutu<ru>ṣakarpūrakāstūrikakumkumamīśrako duṣyapaṭe dhūpo dātavya.*

<sup>9</sup> In the *Saddharmapuṇḍarīka*, the word *bimba* is used in the meaning of both “painting” and “figure, statue”: SP 24.8. *vaiḍūryamadhye va suvarṇabhimbam* (“like a golden figure [placed] in the middle of lapis lazuli”); SP 50.13. *ratnāmayaṃ bimba* (“statues made of jewels”); SP 50.15~16. *ye saptaratnāmaya tatra kecid ye tāmrikā vā tatha kāmśikā vā / kārāpayīṣū sugatāna bimbā* (“Others, who had statues of *buddhas* made of the seven kinds of jewels, of copper or brass, ...”); 52.5 *ālekhyā bhittau sugatāna bimbān* (← *bimbam*) (“having painted images of *buddhas* on the wall, ...”). Cf. IBInsc I, p. 187, Kurkihar 52, *bimba saugata* (“a statue of the Buddha”; 931 C.E.).

On the sides of the gate of the storehouse, *yakṣas*, holding treasure<sup>10</sup>, should be painted. On (the wall of) the water-storage room, a *nāga*, holding a water pitcher and wearing beautiful accessories, should be painted. On (the wall of) the room of the hot-bath house and furnace room should be painted according to the teaching of the divine messengers (of Yama; i.e. old age, sickness, death) and also some paintings of hells (地獄變) should be painted. On (the wall of) the room for the caring of sick (monks), a picture of the Tathāgata's taking care of a sick monk should be painted. On (the wall of) the toilet for urination or defecation, a terrifying-looking dead body should be painted. Inside each cell (of a monk), a bleached skeleton should be painted.” Having heard this from the Buddha, the householder, then, bowed to (the Buddha's) feet and went away.<sup>11</sup>

The Tibetan version of same Vinaya text reads almost the same as the Chinese version. I shall here translate the part where the Buddha describes what and where pictures should be painted.

The Buddha said: “O householder, if you want (to do) so, go ahead! Having made a *yakṣa* with a staff in his hand, painted on the main door, you should make (the painters) paint the Great Miracle (*cho 'phrul chen po*) and the Fivefold Wheel of Transmigration on (the wall of) a room above the gate (*sgo khang*); a series of the *Jātakas* on (the walls of) the open passage (or courtyard; *khyams*); *yakṣas* with garlands in their hands on the gate of the principal hall; (a scene of) elder monks' thoroughly clarifying the Dharma in the ceremony hall; *yakṣas* with food in their hands in the dining hall; *yakṣas* with hooks (*aṅkuśa*) in their hands on the gate of the storehouse; *nāgas*, holding water pitchers and being adorned with manifold ornaments, in the water(-storage) room; a theme from the *Devasūtra* in the hot-bath house and a series of hells (*dmyal ba'i rabs*) in the furnace room; (a scene of) the Tathāgata's attending a sick (monk) in the room for the care of sick (monks); a frightening crematorium on the ground of the privy; a skeleton and a skull on the door of each cell (of a monk).”<sup>12</sup>

By comparing the Chinese translation with the Tibetan version, which is, generally speaking, loyal to a Sanskrit original, it becomes apparent that the expression *bian* 變 in both *dashen-*

<sup>10</sup> The Tibetan parallel reads *lcags kyu* “hook” (= Skt. *aṅkuśa*).

<sup>11</sup> T. 24, no. 1451, 283a26~b11. 給孤長者施園之後，作如是念：“若不彩畫，便不端嚴。佛若許者，我欲莊飾。”即往白佛。佛言：“隨意當畫。”聞佛聽已，集諸彩色，并喚畫工。報言：“此是彩色可畫寺中。”答曰：“從何處作？欲畫何物？”報言：“我亦未知。當往問佛。”佛言：“長者！於門兩頰，應作執杖藥叉。次傍一面，作大神通變。又於一面，畫作五趣生死之輪。簷下，畫作(v.l.)本生事。佛殿門傍，畫持鬘藥叉。於講堂處，畫老宿苾芻宣揚法要。於食堂處，畫持餅藥叉。於庫門傍，畫執寶藥叉。安水堂處，畫龍持水瓶，著妙瓔珞。浴室火堂，依天使經法式畫之。并畫少多地獄變。於瞻病堂，畫如來像躬自看病。大小行處，畫作死屍形容可畏。若於房內，應畫白骨髑髏。”是時長者從佛聞已，禮足而去。

<sup>12</sup> Derge, no. 6, *tha* 225b3~6; Peking, no. 1035, *de* 213a3~7. *bcom ldan 'das kyis bka' stsal pa l khyim bdag gal te de lta na song la l re zhig* (Peking shig) *phyi sgor gnod sbyin lag na dbyug thogs 'drir bcug nas l sgo khang du ni cho 'phrul chen po dang 'khor ba'i 'khor lo cha lnga pa l khyams su ni skyes pa'i rabs kyi phreng ba l dri gtsang khang gi sgor ni gnod sbyin lag na phreng ba thogs pa dag l rim gro'i khang par ni dge slong gnas brtan gnas brtan chos rnam par gtan la 'bebs par byed pa l bkad sar ni gnod sbyin lag na zas thogs pa dag l mdzod kyi sgor ni gnod sbyin lag na lcags kyu thogs pa dag l chu'i khang par ni klu lag na bum pa thogs pa rgyan sna tshogs kyis brgyan ba dag l khros khang ngam* (Peking dam [s.e.]) *l bsro gang du ni lha'i mdo las 'byung ba'am l gzhan dmyal ba'i rabs l nad pa'i sman khang du ni de bzhin gshegs pa nad pa'i nad g-yog mdzad pa l chab khung sar ni dur khrod shin tu 'jigs su rung ba l gnas khang gi sgor ni rus pa'i keng rus dang l mgo'i thod pa bri'o l.*

*tongbian* 大神通變 and *diyubian* 地獄變 does not mean “transformation, supernatural power, miracle”, as often assumed, but rather “a painting” which “a painter” (Tib. *ri mo* = Skt. *citrakara*?) would produce. Therefore, *dashentongbian* 大神通變 and *diyubian* 地獄變 may mean “a painting of the Great Miracle” and “painting(s) of hells”, respectively. However, as the Tibetan version shows, there might have been no original Indian word for *bian* 變 in the underlying Indian manuscript from which the Chinese translation was made. This means that Yijing added the expression *bian* 變 in order to make the contexts clear. Why did he not add *tu* 圖, a common expression for “painting”, but *bian* 變? I shall answer this question later.

## (2) *Bian* 變, meaning “figure; painting”, in Chinese non-translation texts

In the above-quoted Chinese translations, translated in 489, 709 and 710 C.E., respectively, the word *bian* 變 clearly means “design”, “figure, statue” (= Skt. *bimba*) and “painting”, all of which are attested in Chinese non-translation texts from pre-Tang periods as well.<sup>13</sup>

### (2.1) *Bian* 變, meaning “figure”, in the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳

As far as I know, the first occurrence of *bian* 變 in the context of art is found in Faxian (法顯 337~422 C.E.)’s *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (The Biography of Monk Faxian; ca. 414 C.E.), in which he describes the festival of the Buddha’s canine tooth in Sri Lanka. The tooth had been brought there from Kalinga in the 4<sup>th</sup> century and preserved in a shrine inside the palace. The king used to have the tooth brought out once a year in the middle of the third month and sent to a shrine of the Abhayagiri monastery. After 90 days, it was sent back to the shrine in the palace. Ten days before the procession of the tooth from the palace to the monastery, the king would make an announcement to the public.

Having made the announcement, he, then, (ordered) manifold reincarnated figures (變現) of the Bodhisattva’s past five hundred lives to be created on both sides of the road. Some made Sudāna’s figure; some made Śyāma’s figure (睽變)<sup>14</sup>; some made an elephant king; some made a deer and a horse. All these figures were brightly coloured and decorated, looking as if they were alive.<sup>15</sup> Then, the Buddha’s tooth was brought out and carried along in the middle of the road to the Abhayagiri monastery.

### (2.2) *Bian* 變, meaning “relief”, in the *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記

The accounts of the journey of Song Yun (宋雲) and the monk, Huisheng 惠生, who visited India between 519~522 C.E., are quoted in the fifth *juan* of Yang Xuanzhi (楊衒之)’s *Luoyang qielan ji* 洛陽伽藍記 (Records of Buddhist Monasteries in Luoyang; ca. 547 C.E.). The following is a part of the description in Gandhāra.

Song Yun gave two slaves to the *Stūpa* of Queli (雀離浮圖)<sup>16</sup> to serve for all their

<sup>13</sup> The following materials have been investigated already by many scholars, e.g. Kanaoka 1990: 82~84.

<sup>14</sup> *Shan* 睽 (MC. śjām) is a transliteration of BHS. Śyāma. Cf. Rao 1980 = 1993: 319~335.

<sup>15</sup> T. 51, no. 2085, 865b1~4. 如是唱已，王便夾道兩邊作菩薩五百身已來種種變現，或作須大拏，或作睽變，或作象王，或作鹿馬。如是形像皆彩畫莊校，狀若生人。

<sup>16</sup> A famous *stūpa* in Peshawar. It is still not clear whether Queli 雀離 is a transliteration (MC. tsjak lje) or a translation. I agree with Sadakata (1980) and others that it is a transliteration, especially as a similar name Queli 雀梨 (MC. tsjak li) for a temple in Kutsha, said to have been named after the former, is attested. Actually, the latter temple is also quoted as Queli 雀離 in the second *juan* of a commentary of the *Shuijing* 水經, written by

lives, sprinkling water and sweeping. Huisheng, for his part, reduced his travel expenses and chose carefully a skilled artisan and made him copy, by means of copper (or brass), the whole shape of the *Stūpa* of Queli and reliefs (變) of four *stūpas* of Śākya(muni Buddha)<sup>17, 18</sup>.

My assumption that *bian* 變 means “a relief” in the above-quoted sentence, is reinforced by the following sentence found in a bibliography of Jianzhen 鑑真 (Jpn. Ganjin; 688~763 C.E.) — He came to Japan to propagate Buddhism in 754 after six failed attempts —, namely *Tōdai Wajō Tōseiden* 唐大和上東征傳 (T. 51, no. 2089, 988~994), compiled by Mahito Genkai 真人元開 in 779 C.E. In it, concerning a legendary Ashokan *stūpa* at Ayuwang si 阿育王寺 in Ningbo 寧波, it says:

This *stūpa* is not made of metal, jade, stone, earth, copper nor iron. The sculptures of a blackish-violet colour are marvellous. There is a relief of the prince, (Mahā)Satva, (who gave his body to a hungry tigress and her cubs) (薩埵王子變) on one side; a relief of (the Bodhisatva's) giving his eyes (捨眼變) on another; a relief of (his) holding out his head (出腦變) on the third side and a relief of his saving a dove (救鴿變) on the fourth.<sup>19</sup>

### (2.3) *Bian* 變, meaning “painting”, in the *Liangshu* 梁書

In the chapter on barbarians, *Zhuyi liezhuan* 諸夷列傳 by name, in the official history of the Liang dynasty 梁 (502~557 C.E.), namely the *Liangshu* 梁書 (The Book of Liang), completed in 629 C.E., we find the history of the famed Changgan si 長干寺 in the southern part of Jiankang 建康, where there was a legendary Ashokan *stūpa*. In this description, the word *bian* 變, meaning “painting”, occurs as follows:

In the Datong period (535~546 C.E.), relics were found from the old *stūpa*. (The temple) enlarged its grounds by purchasing its neighbouring land of several hundred houses, built many halls and buildings and made auspicious figures surrounding these buildings. It was of magnificent grandeur. (The temple) had paintings from (the themes of) the scriptures (諸經變) painted — they were all painted by Zhang Yao 張繇<sup>20</sup> from Wu district. The technique of his painting had no equal at that time.<sup>21</sup>

Thus, the word *bian* 變, in the three above-quoted texts from the pre-Tang periods,

---

Li Daoyuan 酈道元 (~527 C.E.). *Futu* 浮圖 is an old transliteration for *buddho* and it is used not only in the meaning of “the Buddha” but also “a *stūpa* of the Buddha”.

<sup>17</sup> Probably, this refers to the four famous *stūpas* in Gandhāra, which were built at the places where the Buddha, in his former lives, sacrificed himself: (1) by cutting off a part of his thigh to save a dove from being killed by a falcon; (2) by giving his eyes to a person; (3) by cutting off his head and giving it to another person; and (4) by giving his body to a hungry tigress and her cubs. Cf. *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* 高僧法顯傳 (Biography of Monk Faxian), T. 51, no. 2085, 858a29~b11. 昔天帝釋試菩薩化作鷹鴿割肉質鴿處。... 佛爲菩薩時亦於此國以眼施人。... 佛爲菩薩時。於此處以頭施人。... 投身餓虎處。... 名爲四大塔也; cf. also Chavannes 1903: 427, n. 2.

<sup>18</sup> T. 51, no. 2092, 1021c12~14. 宋雲以奴婢二人奉雀離浮圖，永充灑掃。惠生遂減割行資，妙簡良匠，以銅(v.l. 鍮)摹寫雀離浮屠儀一軀及釋迦四塔變。

<sup>19</sup> T. 51, no. 2089, 989c1~4. 塔非金，非玉，非石，非土，非銅，非鐵。紫烏色刻鏤非常。一面薩埵王子變；一面捨眼變；一面出腦變；一面救鴿變。Cf. n. 17.

<sup>20</sup> Zhang Yao 張繇 is called Zhang Sengyao 張僧繇 as well. Cf. his detailed biography which is found in the 7<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the *Lidai Minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Records of Famous Paintings of All the Dynasties), which was completed in 847 C.E. by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠.

<sup>21</sup> 及大同中，出舊塔舍利。敕市寺側數百家宅地，以廣寺域，造諸堂殿并瑞像周回閣等，窮於輪奐焉。其圖諸經變，並吳人張繇運手。繇丹青之工，一時冠絕。



does not mean “transformation” but “a figure; statue”, “a relief” and “a painting”.

### (3) *Bian* 變 in the texts from the Tang dynasty

In the above-quoted Chinese translations and non-translation texts, the word *bian* 變 clearly means “a design”, “a figure, statue”, “a relief” and “a painting”, all of which are attested in other texts from the Tang period onwards as well.

#### (3.1) *Bian* 變 and *jingbian* 經變, meaning “a painting from (the theme of) a scripture”

I have assumed that the expression *jingbian* 經變 in the *Liangshu* 梁書 (629 C.E.) means “a painting from (the theme of) a scripture” (see 2.3). This is supported by the following descriptions in Shandao (善導; 613~681 C.E.)’s *Guannian Amitufo Xianghai sanmei gongde famen* 觀念阿彌陀佛相海三昧功德法門 (Teachings of the Merits of the *Samādhi* of Contemplation on the Ocean-like Marks of Amitābha Buddha) (T. 47, no. 1959) which states:

Moreover, if somebody paints or makes “a painting of the arrangement of the Pure Land” based on the Scripture of Contemplation (of Amitāyus) etc. (依觀經等畫造淨土莊嚴變) and contemplates day and night on its jewelled ground, they can annihilate their grave faults during eight billion aeons of transmigration at every thought in this life.

Also, if (somebody) paints a painting based on the scripture (依經畫變), and contemplates on the decorations of the jewelled trees, jewelled ponds and jewelled palaces, they can annihilate their faults during immeasurable, incalculable billion aeons of transmigration in this life.<sup>22</sup>

The expression *jingbian* 經變 also appears in Xuanzang (玄奘)’s biography, *Datang Daci’ensi Sanzangfashi zhuan* 大唐大慈恩寺三藏法師傳 (T. 50, no. 2053), compiled in 688 C.E. by Huili 慧立 and Yancong 彥琮, in the following context. When Prince Foguangwang 佛光王 (later Emperor Zhongzong of Tang 唐中宗 [656~710 C.E.]) was one month old in December, Xuanzang presented him with a robe and a letter, in which he wrote:

“... Thus, I dare to present one *juan* of the *Prajñāpāramitāhṛdaya* scripture, written in golden characters, together with a case, one painting of the *Bao’en jing* (報恩經變), one set of *kāṣāya*-robe and priestly robes, ...”<sup>23</sup>

In addition, the expressions *jingbian* 經變 and *bian* 變, meaning “a (mural) painting from (the theme of) a Buddhist scripture”, occur repeatedly in the *Lidai Minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Famous Paintings through the Dynasties), written by Zhang Yanyuan 張彥遠 (ca. 815~ca. 877) in mid-9<sup>th</sup> century. In its third *juan*, there is one chapter which specially deals with mural paintings in the Buddhist and Taoist temples in Chang'an 長安, Luoyang 洛陽 and their outskirts. In this chapter, except for the above-discussed expression *jingbian* 經

<sup>22</sup> T. 47, no. 1959, 25a8~12. 又若有人，依觀經等畫造淨土莊嚴變，日夜觀想寶地者，現生念念除滅八十億劫生死之罪。又依經畫變，觀想寶樹、寶池、寶樓莊嚴者，現生除滅無量億阿僧祇劫生死之罪。

<sup>23</sup> T. 50, no. 2053, 272b12f. 輒敢進金字般若心經一卷并函、報恩經變一部、袈裟法服一具、...。= T. 52, no. 2119, 825a16f. Cf. Mair 1989: 167; Zheng 2011.

變<sup>24</sup>, we find references to paintings from (the themes of) various scriptures, such as the *Avataṃsatakasūtra* (華嚴變)<sup>25</sup>, *Chuzaihuan jing*<sup>26</sup> (除災患變)<sup>27</sup>, \**Daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha-sūtra* (十輪變, 十輪經變)<sup>28</sup>, *Jātaka* (本行經變)<sup>29</sup>, *Karmavibhaṅga* (業報差別變)<sup>30</sup>, *Sukhāvātī-vyūha* (淨土經變)<sup>31</sup>, *Sūrya-garbha-* and *Candra-garbha-sūtra* (日藏月藏經變)<sup>32</sup>, *Suvarṇaprabhāsa-sūtra* (金光明經變)<sup>33</sup>, *Vajracchedikā Prajñāpāramitā* (金剛經變)<sup>34</sup>. In addition, in the seventh and eighth *juans*, where the styles and works of painters are described, the author refers to paintings from (the themes of) the Lotus Sutra (法華變)<sup>35</sup> and the *Ratnakūṭa-sūtra* (寶積經變)<sup>36</sup>.

In the same text, paintings from (the themes of) a Taoist scripture the *Mingzhen jing* 明真經 are called *bian* 變 as well.<sup>37</sup>

In the *Liuzu Tang jing* 六祖壇經 (The Platform Sutra of the Sixth Patriarch), a collection of Huineng (慧能 638~713 C.E.)'s teachings, which is believed to have been composed in the 8<sup>th</sup> century but underwent continuous additions and revisions up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, *bian* 變, meaning “a painting”, from the themes of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (楞伽變) is referred to.<sup>38</sup>

The *Sitaji* 寺塔記 (Record of Monasteries and *Stūpas*), written by Duan Chengshi 段成式 (803?~863 C.E.) between 843~853 C.E., also refers to a painting from the themes of “the verses of colours” in the *Dazhidulun* 大智度論, a Chinese translation of the *Mahā-prajñāpāramitāsāstra* by Kumārajīva.<sup>39</sup>

<sup>24</sup> 慈恩寺 ... 塔 ... 殿內, 楊庭光畫經變, 色損。; 資聖寺 ... 大三門東南壁, 姚景仙畫經變。寺西門直西院外神, 及院內經變, 楊廷光畫。This expression is found also in the 9<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the same text: 楊庭光, 與吳(道玄)同時。佛像、經變、雜畫、山水極妙。頗有似吳生處, 但下筆稍細耳。盧稜伽, 吳弟子也。畫迹似吳, 但才力有限。頗能細畫, 咫尺間山水寥廓, 物像精備。經變、佛事, 是其所長。

<sup>25</sup> 懿德寺 ... 中三門東西《華嚴》變, 並妙。; 敬愛寺 ... 西禪院北壁《華嚴》變。

<sup>26</sup> Sengyou 僧祐 (445~518 C.E.)'s *Chusanjangji ji* 出三藏記集 refers to a scripture, the *Chuzaihuan jing* 除災患經, translated by Bai Yan 白延 in mid-3<sup>rd</sup> century (T. 55, no. 2145, 7b4f.), which is now lost. Cf. the *Chukong-zaihuan jing* 除恐災患經 (T. 17, no. 744), translated by Shengjian 聖堅 of the Western Qin 西秦 dynasty (385~431 C.E.).

<sup>27</sup> 天宮寺 三門, 吳畫《除災患》變。

<sup>28</sup> 敬愛寺 ... 東禪院殿內《十輪》變, 東壁西方變。... 山亭院《十輪經》變、《華嚴經》, 並武靜藏畫。

<sup>29</sup> 菩提寺 ... 東壁, 董誥畫《本行經》變。; 聖慈寺 西北禪院, 程遜畫《本行經》變, 維摩詰并諸功德, 楊廷光畫。; 化度寺 楊廷光、楊仙喬畫《本行經》變, 盧稜伽畫地獄變, 今殘兩頭少許耳。

<sup>30</sup> 敬愛寺 ... 《日藏月藏經》變及《業報差別》變。Cf. T. 1, no. 80. 佛爲首迦長者說業報差別經。

<sup>31</sup> 大雲寺 門東兩壁鬼神, 佛殿上菩薩六軀、《淨土經》變。

<sup>32</sup> 敬愛寺 ... 《日藏月藏經》變及《業報差別》變。... 其《日藏月藏經》變有病龍。

<sup>33</sup> 興唐寺 ... 東南角, 吳弟子李生畫《金光明經》變。

<sup>34</sup> 興唐寺 ... 南廊, 吳畫《金剛經》變及郗后等并自題。

<sup>35</sup> 展子虔 ... 《法華變、白麻紙 ...》。

<sup>36</sup> 善果弟儒童。〈中品上。《釋迦會圖》、《寶積經》變, 傳於代)。

<sup>37</sup> 龍興觀 ... 殿內東壁, 吳畫《明真經》變。; 開元觀 西廊院天尊殿前龍虎君、《明真經》變, 及西壁, 並楊廷光畫。

<sup>38</sup> T. 48, no. 2007, 337b17. 時大師堂前有三間房廊。於此廊下, 供養欲畫《楞伽》變; 337c3. 五祖平坦, 遂喚(←換)盧供奉來, 南廊下(v.l. -)畫《楞伽》變。The same issue is referred to in a later text, namely the *Jingde Chuandeng Lu* 景德傳燈錄, composed in 1004 C.E. by Daoyuan 道原: T. 51, no. 2076, 222c24f. 其壁本欲令處士盧珍繪《楞伽》變相。Here, *bian* 變 is replaced by *bianxiang* 變相。

<sup>39</sup> T. 51, no. 2093, 1023b20~23. 平康坊菩薩寺 食堂東壁上, 吳道玄畫《智度論》色偈變。偈是吳自題。筆跡遒勁。如磔鬼神毛髮。These sentences are quoted in the 5<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the same author's other work, namely

(3.2) *Diyubian* 地獄變, *Jingtubian* 淨土變, *Weimobian* 維摩變 etc.

*Diyubian* 地獄變, meaning “a mural painting of hell”, which first appeared in the Chinese translation of the *Kṣudrakavastu* of the Mūlasarvāstivādins (ca. 710 C.E.) (see 1.3), is also found in later texts with the same meaning, e.g.; in the above-quoted *Lidai Minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (mid-9<sup>th</sup> century)<sup>40</sup>, the *Sitaji* 寺塔記 (843~853 C.E.)<sup>41</sup> and the *Youyang Zazu* 西陽雜俎 (ca. 860 C.E.)<sup>42</sup>, both by Duan Chengshi 段成式 (803~863 C.E.).

Painting the Pure Land seems to have been very popular, as *Jingtubian* 淨土變, meaning “a (mural) painting of the Pure Land”, and its synonym *Xifangbian* 西方變, meaning literally “a (mural) painting of the West”, often occur in texts of the Tang dynasty onwards. A prominent poet of that dynasty, Du Fu 杜甫 (712~770 C.E.), composed a poem, namely *Guan Xueji shaobao shuhuabi* 觀薛稷少保書畫壁 (Looking at Calligraphy and a Mural Painting by Junior Guardian Xue Jia) in 762 C.E., in which he used the expression *Xifangbian* 西方變<sup>43</sup>. This word and *Jingtubian* 淨土變 are found in the *Lidai Minghua ji*<sup>44</sup> and the *Sitaji*<sup>45</sup> as well.

Painting a theme of the *Vimalakīrtinirdeśa* has been very popular in East Asia as well. We find the expressions *Weimobian* 維摩變 *Weimojiebian* 維摩詰變 and *Weimojexingbian* 維摩詰行變 in the *Lidai Minghua ji*<sup>46</sup> and *weimobian* 維摩變 in the *Sitaji* 寺塔記 (843~853 C.E.).<sup>47</sup>

The Buddha's entering into *parinirvāṇa* was also a popular theme. We find the expression *niepanbian* 涅槃變 in the *Lidai Minghua ji*.<sup>48</sup> Such mural paintings are also called *niepan bianxiang* 涅槃變相<sup>49</sup> or *miedu bianxiang* 滅度變相<sup>50</sup> in the same text.

the *Youyang Zazu Xuji* 西陽雜俎續集 (ca. 860~863 C.E.), in which the character “髣” is missing. The “verses of colours” (色偈) probably refer to those found in T. 25, no. 1509, 124b27~c27, in which manifold kinds of colours of flowers are described.

<sup>40</sup> In the third and ninth *juans*, this occurs eight times: 慈恩寺 ... 塔之東南中門外偏, 張孝師畫地獄變, 已剝落。; 寶刹寺 ... 西廊陳靜眼畫地獄變, 又有楊廷光畫。; 淨域寺 三階院東壁, 張孝師畫地獄變。etc.

<sup>41</sup> T. 51, no. 2093, 1023a16~19. 常樂坊趙景公寺 ... 南中三門裏東壁上, 吳道玄白畫地獄變。筆力勁怒。變狀陰怪。觀之, 不覺毛戴。吳畫中得意處。These sentences are quoted in the 5<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the *Youyang Zazu Xuji*.

<sup>42</sup> In its third *juan*: 地獄一百三十六。... 今佛寺中畫地獄變, 唯隔子獄, 稍如經說, 其苦具悉。圖人間者曾無一據。

<sup>43</sup> 少保有古風, 得之陝郊篇。惜哉功名忤, 但見書畫傳。我遊梓州東, 遺跡涪江邊。畫藏青蓮界, 書入金榜懸。仰看垂露姿, 不崩亦不騫。鬱鬱三大字, 蛟龍岌相纏。又揮西方變, 發地扶屋椽。慘澹壁飛動, 到今色未填。此行疊壯觀, 郭薛俱才賢。

<sup>44</sup> In its third *juan*: 雲花寺 小佛殿有趙武端畫淨土變, 昭成寺 ... 香爐兩頭淨土變、藥師變, 程遜畫。光宅寺 ... 又尹琳畫西方變。; 興唐寺 ... 小殿內, 吳畫神、菩薩、帝釋, 西壁西方變, 亦吳畫。etc.

<sup>45</sup> T. 51, no. 2093, 1023a16~21. 常樂坊趙景公寺 ... 范長壽畫西方變及十六對事, 寶池{池}尤妙絕。諦視之, 覺水入深壁。These sentences are quoted in the 5<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the *Youyang Zazu Xuji*, which reads 浮壁 instead of 深壁。

<sup>46</sup> In its third *juan*: 安國寺 ... 殿內維摩變, 吳畫; 薦福寺 ... 西廊菩提院, 吳畫維摩詰行變。; in the sixth *juan*: 袁倩 ... 又《維摩詰變》一卷。

<sup>47</sup> T. 51, no. 2093, 1023b27. (平康坊菩薩寺 ...) 佛殿內槽東壁維摩變。This sentence is quoted in the 5<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the *Youyang Zazu Xuji*, which also has another occurrence of this expression: 安邑坊玄法寺 ... 東廊南觀音院, 盧奢那堂內槽北面壁畫維摩變。This sentence is missing in T. 51, no. 2093.

<sup>48</sup> In its third *juan*: 安國寺 ... 東北涅槃變, 楊廷光畫。; 褒義寺 ... 佛殿西壁涅槃變, 盧稷迦畫, 自題。; in the eighth *juan*: 楊契丹 ... 又寶刹寺一壁佛涅槃變、維摩等, 亦為妙作, 與田(僧亮)同品。

<sup>49</sup> In its third *juan*: 寶刹寺 佛殿南, 楊契丹畫涅槃等變相。

<sup>50</sup> In its third *juan*: 永泰寺 ... 東精舍, 鄭法士畫滅度變相。

The *Lidai Minghua ji* refers to mural paintings of various Buddhist themes as well. Especially in Jing'ai Temple 敬愛寺, there were manifold mural paintings in the buildings within it, such as paintings of Vimalakīrti, Vairocana, the Prince in the Lotus Sutra (法華太子變), the Assembly of the Buddha of the West (*i.e.* Amitābha), the Sixteen Meditations (based on the *Guan Wuliangshou jing* 觀無量壽經), King Yamarāja (閻羅王變), the *Avataṃsakasūtra* (《華嚴》變), Maitreya in the West (西方彌勒變), monk(s) on a journey to the West, the *Sūrya-garbha-* and *Candra-garbha-sūtra* (日藏月藏經變), *Karmavibhaṅga* (業報差別變), \**Daśacakra-Kṣitigarbha-sūtra* (十輪變), and a (mural) painting of the West (西方變).<sup>51</sup> These descriptions remind us of the murals in Cave 217 of the Mogao Caves near Dunhuang.

The same text also refers to the mural paintings of “(the Buddha’s) conquest of Māra” (降魔變)<sup>52</sup>, of “Maitreya’s descent to this world” (彌勒下生變)<sup>53</sup>, of Maitreya (彌勒變)<sup>54</sup>, of the Healing (Buddha) (藥師變)<sup>55</sup>, of Vajra(pāṇi) (金剛變)<sup>56</sup> and of miscellaneous *buddhas*<sup>57</sup> (雜佛變) in other temples.

### (3.3) Meaning of *bian* 變 in the texts from Tang dynasty

Thus, *bian* 變 in the above-quoted texts clearly means “a painting on a Buddhist theme”. In the above-quoted *Lidai Minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (Famous Paintings through the Dynasties), a type of painting called *tu* 圖 also appears repeatedly, such as a mural painting of “(the Emperor’s) going to the East and conducting sacrifices (on Mount Tai)” (東封圖), a painting of (Travels to) Western Lands (西域記圖), of a drunken Taoist (醉道士圖), of the seven saints of the Tang dynasty (唐朝七聖圖), of Gaozu and the Royals”(高祖及諸王圖), of female entertainer(s) (妓女圖) *etc.* *Tú* refers to non-Buddhist paintings, whether it be a mural or not.

However, there is one occurrence of *bian* 變 in the *Lidai Minghua ji*, meaning probably just “a painting”. It concerns the outstanding painter, Wu Daoxuan 吳道玄 where it states: “Wu Daoxuan ... would paint on the walls of Buddhist temples, employing, according to his fancy, strange rocks which (looked as if) one could touch them, and rushing torrents from which (it seemed) one could ladle (water). And furthermore (while) on the road to Shu, he drew the landscape, and as a result of this, the development of landscape painting (山水之變) began with Wu and was perfected by the two Lis (General Li and Grand Secretary Li).”<sup>58</sup>

<sup>51</sup> In its third *juan*: 敬愛寺 維摩詰、盧舍那 (並劉行臣描, 趙龕成。自餘並聖曆已後, 劉茂德、皇甫節恭成)、法華太子變(劉茂德成, 即行臣子)。西壁, 西方佛會 (趙武端描)、十六觀及閻羅王變 (劉阿祖描)。西禪院北壁, 《華嚴》變 (張法受描)。北壁門西一間, 佛會及山水 (何長壽描)、人物等 (張法受描, 趙龕成)。東西兩壁, 西方彌勒變。并禪院門外道, 西行道僧 (並神龍後, 王韶應描, 董忠成)。禪院內西廊壁, 畫(開元十年吳道子描)《日藏月藏經》變及《業報差別》變 (吳道子描, 翟琰成。《罪福報應》是雜手成, 所以色損也)。東禪院殿內《十輪》變 (武靜藏描)。東壁西方變。

<sup>52</sup> In its third *juan*: 光宅寺 東菩提院內北壁東西偏, 尉遲畫降魔等變。

<sup>53</sup> In its third *juan*: 千福寺 ... 彌勒下生變。

<sup>54</sup> In its eight *juan*, concerning the painter Dong Boren 董伯仁, the author writes: 《周明帝畋游圖》、雜畫臺閣樣、彌勒變、《弘農田家圖》、《隋文帝上馬圖》, 傳於代。

<sup>55</sup> In its third *juan*: 昭成寺 ... 香爐兩頭淨土變、藥師變, 程遜畫。

<sup>56</sup> In its third *juan*: 興唐寺 ... 院內次北廊向東, 塔院內西壁, 吳畫金剛變, 工人成色損。

<sup>57</sup> In its eight *juan*, concerning the painter Yang Qidan 楊契丹, the author writes: 《隋朝正會圖》、《幸洛陽圖》、《豆盧寧像》、《貴戚游宴圖》、雜佛變, 傳於代。

<sup>58</sup> 吳道玄者 ... 往往於佛寺畫壁, 縱以怪石崩灘, 若可捫酌。又於蜀道, 寫貌山水。由是山水之變, 始於吳, 成於二李。(李將軍、李中書)。I changed slightly Acker’s English translation (1954: 156). I am grate-

To the above-cited, Du Fu 杜甫's poem, in which the expression *Xifangbian* 西方變 appears, Qiu Zhao'ao (仇兆鰲 1638~1717 C.E.) wrote a commentary and commented on the word as follows: “*Xifangbian* means a painting of the Buddhas in the West. The *Youyang Zazu* says: ‘People of the Tang dynasty called painting *bian* 變 as well.’”<sup>59</sup> The last sentence is often quoted, but it is not found in the present edition of the *Youyang Zazu* 西陽雜俎 (ca. 860 C.E.) by Duan Chengshi 段成式. I doubt its authenticity, as the expression “People of the Tang dynasty” (唐人) is a strange usage for an author of the same dynasty.

#### (4) Meaning of *bianxiang* 變相

As we have seen above, a (mural) painting of the Buddha's entering into *parinirvāṇa* is called *niepan bianxiang* 涅槃變相<sup>60</sup> or *miedu bianxiang* 滅度變相<sup>61</sup> as well as *niepanbian* 涅槃變 in the *Lidai Minghua ji* 歷代名畫記 (mid-9<sup>th</sup> century). From this, we may assume that *bian* 變 and *bianxiang* 變相 are synonyms. In this text, the latter occurs only twice, while *bian* 變 in this meaning occurs more than 51 times.<sup>62</sup>

The expression *bianxiang* 變相 appears in earlier texts in the Tang dynasty.

A pre-eminent poet Li Bai 李白 (701~762 C.E.) wrote a poem, called “In Praise of a (Mural) Painting of the Pure Land in the West painted with gold and silver paint” (金銀泥畫西方淨土變相讚). Its title and preface contain the expression *bianxiang* 變相, meaning “a (mural) painting”.

In addition, in a text, namely the *Wangsheng Xifangjingtū ruiying zhuan* 往生西方淨土瑞應傳 (Accounts of Rebirths in the Pure Land in the West as Auspicious Retribution; T. 51, no. 2070) by Wennian 文諡 (dates unknown), and Shaokang 少康 (?~805 C.E.) later than 774 C.E., we find some occurrences of *bianxiang* 變相, meaning “a painting on a Buddhist theme”, e.g. “a (mural) painting of hell” (地獄變相)<sup>63</sup>, “a (mural) painting of the West (*i.e.* the Pure Land)” (西方變相) and “painting of the Pure Land” (淨土變相).<sup>64</sup>

In the fifth *juan* of the *Youyang Zazu* 西陽雜俎 (ca. 860 C.E.) by Duan Chengshi 段成式, we find a mention of “a mural painting of (Mañjuśrī's) consoling the sick (*Vimalakīrti*) in the *Vimalakīrti(nirdeśa)*” (維摩問疾變相).<sup>65</sup>

In the *Liuzu Tang jing* 六祖壇經, which is believed to have been composed in the

ful to Dr. Wu Juan who provided me with a copy of Acker's excellent English translation of this text.

<sup>59</sup> 西方變，言所畫西方諸佛變相。《西陽雜俎》：唐人謂畫亦曰變。

<sup>60</sup> In its third *juan*: 寶利寺 佛殿南，楊契丹畫涅槃等變相。

<sup>61</sup> In its third *juan*: 永泰寺 ... 東精舍，鄭法士畫滅度變相。

<sup>62</sup> In contrast to the *Lidai Minghua ji*, another record of famous paintings of the Tang dynasty in Sichuan, namely the *Yizhou Minghua lu* 益州名畫錄 (Record of Famous Paintings in Yizhou), written by Huang Xiufu 黃休復 in ca. 1005 C.E., has the expression *bianxiang* 變相 occurring 27 times, while *bian* 變 does not appear at all.

<sup>63</sup> 104c12~13. 後周朝靜靄禪師在俗時，入寺，見地獄變相，謂同輩曰：“審業如之。誰免斯苦？”遂白母出家。

<sup>64</sup> 105b24~25. 唐朝善導禪師，姓朱。泗州人也。少出家。時見西方變相，嘆曰：“何當託質蓮臺棲神淨土？”及受具戒。... 105c6~7. 寫《彌陀經》十萬卷，畫淨土變相二百鋪，所見塔廟無不修葺。

<sup>65</sup> 大歷中，荊州有術士，從南來，止於陟記寺，好酒，少有醒時。因寺中大齋會，人眾數千，術士忽曰：“余有一技，可代拊瓦盃珠之歡也。”乃合彩色於一器中，驛步抓目，徐祝數十言，方欲水再三嚙壁上，成維摩問疾變相，五色相宣如新寫。

8<sup>th</sup> century, but underwent continuous additions and revisions up to the 13<sup>th</sup> century, a mural painting on the themes of the *Laṅkāvatārasūtra* (楞伽變) is called *bianxiang* 變相 as well.<sup>66</sup>

Chengguan 澄觀 (738~839 C.E.) is said to have composed a poem, entitled “In Praise of a (Mural) Painting of the Land and Sea in the *Avataṃsaka(sūtra)*” (華嚴刹海變相讚)<sup>67</sup>; and his disciple Zongmi 宗密 (780~841 C.E.)’s commentary to the “Practices and Vows of Samantabhadra” Chapter of the *Avataṃsakasūtra* refers to painting murals (變相) of the nine assemblies held in seven places, described in the *Avataṃsaka(sūtra)*.<sup>68</sup>

The expression *bianxiang* 變相 was widely used in later texts as well.<sup>69</sup>

As we have seen above, *bian* 變 started appearing much earlier on than *bianxiang* 變相. Therefore, the former is not an abbreviation of the latter as usually maintained. The expression *bianxiang* 變相 was created probably in order to make the meaning of *bian* 變 much clearer, and we can conclude that *bianxiang* 變相 means “a painting; mural painting on a Buddhist theme”.

### (5) *Bianxiang* 變像 and *xiangbian* 像變, both meaning “image, (mural) painting”

We find the expression *bianxiang* 變像 in the same meaning as *bian* 變.

In the biography of Huiyuan 慧遠 in the *Gaosengzhuan* 高僧傳 (Biographies of Eminent Monks), completed around 530 C.E. by Huijiao 慧皎, the word *bianxiang* 變像 was first used:

Yao Xing 姚興 (366~416 C.E.), the Emperor of (Later) Qin (秦), respected (Huiyuan’s) virtues and fame, praised his talent and thought and sent him letters with an earnest mind, despatched letters and gifts repeatedly. He gave him an image (變像), woven with fine threads from Kutsha, in order to show his sincerity. In addition, he let (his younger brother) Yao Song 姚嵩 give as a gift (the Buddha’s) statue, made of jewels from his possession (to Huiyuan).<sup>70</sup>

Then, in Daoxuan (道宣 596~667 C.E.)’s *Zhongtianzhu Sheweiguo Qihuansi Tujing* 中天竺舍衛國祇洹寺圖經 (Illustration of Jetavana Monastery in Śrāvastī in Central India), the Buddha is said to have painted murals (變像) of the eight phases of his life on the wall.<sup>71</sup>

In his translations, Bodhiruci 菩提流志 (fl. 693~722 C.E.) used *bianxiang* 變像 and *xiangbian* 像變 side by side, both meaning “a mural painting (of an image of a *buddha* or *bodhisatva*)”:

<sup>66</sup> T. 48, no. 2007, 337c3~8. 五祖平旦，遂喚(←換)盧供奉來南廊下(v.l. -)畫《楞伽》變。五祖忽見此偈，請記。乃謂供奉曰：“弘忍與供奉錢三十千，深勞遠來，不畫變相也。《金剛經》云：凡所有相，皆是虛妄。不如留(←流)此偈，令迷人誦。依此修行，不墮三惡<道>。依法修行，{人}有大利益。”

<sup>67</sup> X. 58, no. 1015, 555b13~16.

<sup>68</sup> X. 5, no. 229, 302a2~4. 二、供養。“瑞鳥銜華”：僧法誠，於藍谷造華嚴堂，畫七處九會變相，兼寫此經，專精供養。每有瑞鳥，形色非常，銜華入室，旋遶供養也。

<sup>69</sup> E.g. X. 43, no. 737, 263c11. 彌陀變相; T. 50, no. 2061, 813c8~9. 如聞天下諸道觀，皆畫化胡成佛變相 (cf. T. 49, no. 2035, 371b-9. 如聞道觀，皆畫化胡成佛之相); T. 49, no. 2035, 280c9. 淨土變相; do. 282b26. 畫西方變相一軸; do. 474c8~9. 中宗勅毀化胡經及畫壁變相。違者，科罪。

<sup>70</sup> T. 50, no. 2059, 360a22~24. 秦主姚興欽德風名，歎其才思，致書慰勸，信餉連接。贈以龜茲國細縷雜變像。以申欵心。又令姚嵩獻其珠像。

<sup>71</sup> T. 45, no. 1899, 889c4f. 複殿化壁釋迦如來自書八相變像。圖此書是。佛臨滅時，當殿大像自然發音。

When one paints a (mural?) painting (像變) of the Bodhisatva Avalokitasvara with a Thousand Hands and Eyes, ... one should use a piece of white fine cotton cloth of 10 *hastas* (ca. 450 cm) in length and width ...<sup>72</sup>

Having accomplished (preparatory religious performances), one should paint (mural) paintings (像變) in accordance with the teachings. ... This big painting (變像) is called an image of the great accomplishment of the body of the Tathāgata, the Superior Wheel (-Turning) Ruler ... All immeasurable, innumerable *buddhas* constantly praise this wonderful painting (變像) all together.<sup>73</sup>

He translated the aforementioned text once again into Chinese. In it, the parallel passages have been revised a little.<sup>74</sup>

## (6) Original Indian word of *bian* 變

To sum up what we have discussed above is as follows:

(1)~(3): *bian* 變 has various meanings:

“figure”; ca. 414 C.E. (2.1)

“design” = Pā. *vaṇṇamaṭṭhakamma* (“decoration”) or *kamma* (“design”); 489 C.E. (1.1)

“relief”; ca. 547 C.E. (2.2)

“painting”; 629 C.E. (2.3); ca. 710 C.E. (1.3)

“painting from (the theme of) a Buddhist scripture”; 7<sup>th</sup> c. onwards (3.1)

“figure, statue” = Skt. *bimba* (“an image, picture; figure”); 709 C.E. (1.2)

“mural from (the theme of) a Buddhist scripture”; mid-9c. (3.1)

(4): *bianxiang* 變相 means “painting; mural of a Buddhist theme”; 8<sup>th</sup> c. onwards

(5): *bianxiang* 變像 and *xiangbian* 像變 mean “image, painting, mural”

Thus, *bian* 變 was used not only in the meaning of “a painting, mural” but also “a figure, stature, relief, design”. It is difficult to find out its Indian equivalent but in any case, it cannot be *maṇḍala*, as often maintained<sup>75</sup> — this erroneous assumption was probably caused by its occurrences in the above-quoted esoteric scripture (1.2), in which *bian* 變 corresponds to *bimba*, as we have seen above. This Sanskrit word, which means “an image, figure, statue”, is a good candidate, but only related to a god or the personality rather than to scenes, such as hells, the Pure Land *etc.* Also, the Indian word *prātihārya* (“miracle”), which in Chinese translations was rendered as *bian* 變, *bianxian* 變現, *shenbian* 神變 *etc.*, and *nirmāṇa* (“magic creation”), *nirmita* (*do.*), which were translated as *bian* 變, *bianhua* 變化 *etc.*, are clearly nothing to do at all with *bian* 變 in question.<sup>76</sup>

<sup>72</sup> T. 20, no. 1058 (千手千眼觀世音菩薩姥陀羅尼身經), 101b1~4. 若畫千手千眼觀世音菩薩摩訶薩像變者，當用白氎縱廣十肘或二十肘。是菩薩身作閻浮檀金色，面有三眼，臂有千手，於千手掌各有一眼。首戴寶冠冠有化佛。...

<sup>73</sup> T. 19, no. 951 (一字佛頂輪王經), 238a1. 趣成就者，如法依法當畫像變。... 238a26f. 是大變像名如來身最頂輪王大成就像。... 239b14. 是妙變像，無量無數一切諸佛常共讚歎。Bukong 不空 (705~774) translated the first passage as follows: 當依儀軌。應作先行。先行已然後畫像 (T. 19, no. 950 [菩提場所說一字頂輪王經], 198b17~18).

<sup>74</sup> T. 19, no. 952 (五佛頂三昧陀羅尼經), 273b28. 復有像變。... 273c22. 是變像名如來身最勝輪王大成就像。... 274b23. 是妙變像無量無數一切諸佛常皆讚歎。

<sup>75</sup> Guan 1947 maintained that *bian* 變 was a transliteration of *maṇḍala* which is phonetically impossible. Cf. Mair 1989: 59f.

<sup>76</sup> Cf. Mair 1988: 1, *ib.* 1989: 48~58.

The Sanskrit word *citra*, which means “a variety of colour; an image, painting, high or full relief; a full relief or image whose whole body is fully shown”<sup>77</sup>, “a three-dimensional image”<sup>78</sup> as well as “wonder; variegated; various; strange, wonderful”, corresponds well semantically to *bian* 變 (“change, transformation”; “unusual natural phenomena” [e.g. *tianbian* 天變]; “strange, mysterious” [e.g. *guaibian* 怪變; cf. Japanese *hen* 変 “strange, mysterious”]).<sup>79</sup> There are compounds *citra-pusta* “coloured clay” (an image of painted clay or terracotta)<sup>80</sup>, *citra-bimba* (“a painting as a cult-image”)<sup>81</sup>, *citrābhāsa* (“a painting as a cult-image”; it can be painted on a wall, metal or on a cloth<sup>82</sup>; an image painted on a *paṭa* [a piece of cloth, a tablet, a plate] or wall<sup>83</sup>), *citrārdha* (“a half relief or an image half of whose body is shown”)<sup>84</sup>. In addition, there are modern Indian expressions, which indicate *citra* means “a painting used for story-telling”, such as *narak citra* (“a hell painting”; Gujarati; < Skt. *naraka-citra*)<sup>85</sup>, *citrakathī* (“a picture reciter”; one, who shows pictures and recites stories)<sup>86</sup>, and *citrakar* / *citrakār* (“painter”; in West Bengal; one, who prepares scrolls, shows pictures and recites stories)<sup>87</sup>.

I assume that coloured figures, reliefs or paintings might have been called *citra* or *citrābhāsa* etc. in India, and the Chinese people named such Indian flamboyant colourfully-painted artwork, which was totally different from their own traditional artwork (traditional paintings were called 圖) and, hence, “unusual, strange”, *bian* 變. The first recorded occurrence of this word is found in the *Gaoseng Faxian zhuan* (ca. 414 C.E.) (see 2.1). Thereafter, this expression was applied to various kinds of artwork regardless of whatever their original words might have been, as we have seen above. Chinese people continued to use this expression to differentiate Buddhist (mural) paintings in the Indian style from Chinese traditional ones. However, the words *citra* (“painting”), *citrakara* (“painter”) etc., which appear often in Buddhist scriptures, were translated as *hua* 畫, *huashi* 畫師 etc. instead of *bian* 變, \**bianshi* 變師 etc. Probably, the Chinese translators preferred to use the traditional expressions in translations.

## (7) Meaning of *bian* 變 and *bianwen* 變文 in the Dunhuang manuscripts and *zhuanbian* 轉變 in late-Tang poetry

The expression *bian* 變 is also found as part of the titles of several Dunhuang manuscripts, which are thought to have been written between ca. 920~980 C.E.<sup>88</sup>, e.g. *Pomo*

<sup>77</sup> Acharya 1934: 195 = 1946: 173, s.v. *CHITRA*. The same word means “painting, photograph, portrait” in Hindi.

<sup>78</sup> Cf. TAK II 244, s.v. *citra*, “[three-dimensional] cult image”.

<sup>79</sup> The idea that *bian* 變 in question might be a translation of Skt. *citra* was raised previously in 1947 by Zhou Yiliang 周一良 = 1996: 162~169 = 1998: 294~302. Cf. Mair 1989: 63.

<sup>80</sup> Cf. TAK II 245, s.v.

<sup>81</sup> Cf. TAK II 245, s.v.

<sup>82</sup> Cf. TAK II 245, s.v.

<sup>83</sup> Acharya 1934: 196 = 1946: 174, s.v. *CHITRĀBHĀSA*.

<sup>84</sup> Acharya 1934: 196 = 1946: 175, s.v. *CHITRĀRDHA*.

<sup>85</sup> Cf. *ib.* 106f.

<sup>86</sup> Cf. *ib.* 86f.

<sup>87</sup> Cf. *ib.* 87f.

<sup>88</sup> Arami 2003: 75~77.



*bian* 破魔變, *Xiangmo bian* 降魔變, *Baxiang bian* 八相變, *Shunzi bian* 舜子變, *Liujia taizi bian* 劉家太子變 etc.<sup>89</sup> I assume that *bian* 變 in these titles means “a painting”, thus, we have “Painting of (the Buddha’s) destruction of Māra”, “Painting of (the Buddha’s) conquest of Māra”, “Paintings of the eight phases of (the Buddha’s) life”, “Painting of (the story of) Shunzi”, “Painting of (the story of) the crown prince of the Liu family”, respectively. What are written in these manuscripts are scripts to explain the pictures, as we shall see below.

At the beginning, the themes of *bian* 變 were almost exclusively related to Buddhism, but later this expression was applied to paintings of pre-Buddhist Chinese historical events and personalities as well. This is demonstrated by the titles of several Dunhuang manuscripts, written in the 10<sup>th</sup> century, such as the *Shunzi bian* 舜子變 (“Painting of [the story of] Shunzi”), the *Shunzi zhixiao bian wen* 舜子至孝變文 (“Script for the painting of [the story of] the most filial Shunzi”), the *Liujia taizi bian* 劉家太子變 (“Painting of [the story of] the crown prince of the Liu family”), the *Hanjiang Wang Ling bian* 漢將王陵變 (Painting of [the story of] General Wang Ling of the Han dynasty) etc. In addition, there is a poem from the late Tang dynasty by Ji Shilao 吉師老 (dates unknown; around 9<sup>th</sup>~10<sup>th</sup> century), entitled “Watching a girl from Shu roll out (a scroll of) a Painting of (the Story of Wang) Zhaojun”(看蜀女轉昭君變)<sup>90</sup>, which deals with a famous beauty, Wang Zhaojun 王昭君, who was sent by Emperor Yuan of the Han dynasty to marry the ruler of Xiongnu. In this connection, I should like to clarify the meaning of the expression *zhuanbian* 轉變 which occurs in texts from the late Tang onwards.<sup>91</sup> This word might mean “to roll out a painted



scroll” in order to show it to the audience, as the photograph (left) of a story-telling priest at Dōjō-ji Temple in Wakayama Prefecture demonstrates:

*Etoki* 絵解き performance at Dōjō-ji Temple;  
photograph taken by the staff of Shitennoji,  
Osaka<sup>92</sup>

<sup>89</sup> Cf. n. 1.

<sup>90</sup> 看蜀女轉昭君變: 妖姬未著石榴裙, 自道家連錦水濱。檀口解知千載事, 清詞堪嘆九秋文。翠眉顰處楚邊月, 畫卷開時塞外雲。說盡綺羅當日恨, 昭君傳意向文君。(from the 774<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the *Quantang shi* 全唐詩). Cf. Mair 1989: 152f.

<sup>91</sup> E.g. the occurrence of this expression in the above-quoted poem (看蜀女轉昭君變). Also, a poem by Li Yuan 李遠 (802~870?), entitled the *Zhuanbianren* 轉變人 (One, who rolls out painted scrolls): 綺城春雨灑輕埃, 同看蕭娘抱變來。時世險妝偏窈窕, 風流新畫獨徘徊。場邊公子車輿合, 帳裏明妃錦繡開。休向巫山覓雲雨, 石幢陂下是陽臺。(quoted in the anthology of poems of the Tang dynasty, which was newly discovered in South Korea, entitled the *Sib Chosi* 十抄詩; cf. Kim 2007: 38~67). There are following instances as well: 李林甫 ... 乃設詭計。詐令僧設齋, 或於要路轉變, 其眾中有單貧者, 即縛之, 置密室中, 授以絮衣, 連枷作隊, 急遞赴役。(from the *Tanbin lu* 譚賓錄 by Hu Qu 胡璩 [fl. 9<sup>th</sup> century?], quoted in the 269<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the *Taipin Guangji* 太平廣記, compiled in 977~978 C.E.); 每日上皇與高公親看掃除庭院, 芟薙草木, 或講經論議, 轉變說話。(from the *Gao Lishi zhuan* 高力士傳 by Guo Shi 郭湜 [700~788 C.E.], quoted in the 111<sup>th</sup> *juan* of the *Shuofu* 說郛, compiled in the 14<sup>th</sup> century). Cf. Takai 2010: 75f.

<sup>92</sup> I should like to express my gratitude both to Rev. Shunjō Ono 小野俊成, the abbot of Dōjō-ji Temple 道成寺, who is in the photograph and to Shitenno-ji Temple 四天王寺, Osaka, which possesses this photo, for allowing me to use it.

The expression *bianwen* 變文 is found as part of the titles of several Dunhuang manuscripts, namely the *Xiangmobian wen* 降魔變文, *Da Muqianlian mingjian jiumu bian wen* 大目乾連冥間救母變文, *Damujianlianbian wen* 大目犍連變文 and the *Shunzi zhixiao bian wen* 舜子至孝變文, which are thought to have been written in the 10<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>93</sup> It should be noted that this expression came into existence as late as around that time.<sup>94</sup>

In India, Central Asia and East Asia, there used to be monks or *dharmabhāṇakas* who specialised in telling Buddhist stories to people while pointing to a picture or pictures. They explained each mural picture in detail, not only in monasteries but also pictures, which they had brought with them to villages and towns. Therefore, I assume that *bianwen* 變文 was meant to be nothing other than scripts for such story-telling monks, and this word means “a script for a painting”.

As we have seen above (3.2), the *Lidai Minghua ji* states that there was a mural painting called “(the Buddha’s) conquest of Māra” (*Xiangmobian* 降魔變) in a temple.<sup>95</sup> The *Xiangmobian wen* 降魔變文, found in Dunhuang, was therefore a script to explain a picture of the same theme. In this sense, we should divide the compound as *Xiangmobian wen* rather than *Xiangmo bianwen* and hence, the above-quoted titles of the Dunhuang manuscripts mean “Script for the painting of (the Buddha’s) conquest of Māra”, “Script for the painting of Mahāmaudgalyāyana’s saving his mother from the Dark Realm”, “Script for the painting of Mahāmaudgalyāyana”, “Script for the painting of [the story of] the most filial Shunzi”, respectively.

A hybrid Sanskrit manuscript of a collection of excerpts of around two hundred Buddhist stories, dating back to the 5<sup>th</sup> century C.E., was discovered in Merv in Turkmenistan — I call it “The *Avadāna* Anthology from Merv”.<sup>96</sup> In this anthology, the expressions *vistareṇa vācyaṃ*, *vistareṇa vaktavyaṃ* and *vistareṇa karttavyaṃ*, all mean “(such-and-such a story) should be recited in detail” repeatedly, suggesting that this manuscript was written for a story-telling monk, who must have memorised most of the stories, and hence, did not need to write the stories down in full detail. It is quite probable that a master of storytelling wrote (or ordered to be written) this manuscript for his successor or disciple to transmit the contents of the stories. For him or for his pupils, these stories were completely well known and the writer did not feel the necessity of writing them down in full. The stories up to no. 127 generally consist of prose, while those from nos. 131 to 193 contain very short pieces of prose together with one or two verses. For example, no. 159, entitled “Tree”, runs as follows.<sup>97</sup>

The false accusations concerning Sundarī(’s death should be related) in detail. The leader of a troop (of monkeys) recited a verse:

“Surely to those, who have a great deal to do, the same kind of business would occur. Eat (for the meantime) *tinduka* fruit (of the tree), as much of the tree must be chopped down (before we are in danger)!”

<sup>93</sup> Cf. Arami 2003: 75~77; Takai 2010: 78f.

<sup>94</sup> Cf. Takai 2010: 78f.

<sup>95</sup> In its third *juan*: 光宅寺 東菩提院內北壁東西偏，尉遲畫降魔等變。

<sup>96</sup> Karashima / Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2015.

<sup>97</sup> Cf. Karashima / Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya 2015: 294f.

(The Buddha said): “It may be, (O monks, that you may think that, at that time, ...)” (The rest should be related) in detail.

The features of “The *Avadāna* Anthology from Merv” resemble those of *bianwen* 變文.

At present, the expression *bianwen* 變文 is used as a convenient label for vernacular and prosimetric narratives in the Dunhuang manuscripts. However, this is not correct. The name *bianwen* 變文 should not be applied to a text, which is not related to a painting.

### (8) Story-telling monks

There are some pictures of a so-called “travelling monk”, wearing a hat, holding a fan, carrying scrolls on his back and accompanied by a tiger.<sup>98</sup> Such pictures are sometimes interpreted mistakenly as being of monks who travelled from China to India, e.g. Xuanzang. Others assume that those depicted are Buddhist preachers who travelled from village to village, carrying scriptures on their backs. As preachers must have memorised the scriptures, it is natural to think that they were story-telling monks and what they carried on their backs were scrolls of pictures, namely *bian* 變 in question — like the scrolls in the above-reproduced photograph. In my opinion, Whitfield was quite correct to give the title of “an itinerant storyteller” to a picture on this theme at the British Library (see below).



Left: Late 9<sup>th</sup> c.; Stein, second expedition, from Dunhuang Cave 17; now preserved at The British Museum; photograph from Whitfield 2004: 128

Right: 9<sup>th</sup> c.; from Dunhuang; now preserved at the National Museum of Korea; photograph from the National Museum of Korea 1986, no. 22

<sup>98</sup> Cf. Akiyama 1965; Mair 1986; Xie (ed.) 2010, vol. 1, pp. 204–224; Feltham 2012 with further references.

The tradition of storytelling by monks, employing paintings, has survived in Japan in the form of *etoki* 絵解き (“explanation of picture”) performance.<sup>99</sup>



*Etoki* 絵解き performance at Taima-dera Temple 當麻寺, Katsuragi, Nara<sup>100</sup>

## Epilogue

As a result of deep specialisation in various fields of Asian studies, scholars nowadays have fallen into the so-called "silo mentality", *i.e.* they do not share information with other researchers of neighbouring fields. When I read articles by orientalists of the last century, such as Sylvain Lévi (1863~1935), Édouard Chavannes (1865~1918), Louis de La Vallée-Poussin (1869~1938), Paul Eugène Pelliot (1878~1945), Paul Demiéville (1894~1979) and Étienne Lamotte (1903~1983), I am always struck by their profound and expansive knowledge in the fields of Indology, Sinology as well as Buddhist studies, which must have been acquired from reading vast amounts of original texts and the sharing of information with scholars of adjacent fields.

To investigate Chinese Buddhist manuscripts from Dunhuang, which are syncretic composites of both Indian and Chinese cultural elements, we need to put information of both sides together. The practice of creating *bian* 變 and *bianwen* 變文 was not invented in Dunhuang. The practice of preaching the Buddhist teachings through the use of paintings must have been transmitted from India through Central Asia to East Asia. In order to trace such transmission, we need to read original texts further in various languages and share information with colleagues in neighbouring fields. It may also be meaningful to compare *bianwen* 變文 with the above-mentioned “The *Avadāna* Anthology from Merv” and Gāndhārī manuscripts of Buddhist narratives, discovered in recent years in Pakistan.<sup>101</sup>

<sup>99</sup> Cf. Mair 1988: 111~116 and colour plate 6.

<sup>100</sup> I should like to express my gratitude to Rev. Jisshū Matsumura 松村實秀 of Taimadera Temple, who is in the photograph, for allowing me to reproduce this.

<sup>101</sup> Cf. Lenz 2003, 2010.

## BIBLIOGRAPHY, ABBREVIATIONS AND SIGNS

Acharya, Prasanna Kumar

1934 *A Dictionary of Hindu Architecture: Treating of Sanskrit Architectural Terms with Illustrative Quotations from Silpaśāstras, General Literature and Archaeological Records*, London: Oxford University Press (Monasara Series, vol. 1); repr.: New Delhi <sup>2</sup>1981: Oriental Books Reprint Corporation.

1946 *An Encyclopaedia of Hindu Architecture*, London: Oxford University Press (Manasara Series, vol. VII); repr.: New Delhi 1993: Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers.

Acker, William Reynolds Beal

1954 *Some T'ang and pre-T'ang Texts on Chinese Painting*, translated and annotated, Leiden: E.J. Brill (Sinica Leidensia, v. 8).

Akiyama Terukazu 秋山光和

1965 “Tonkōga ‘Tora wo tsureta Angyasō’ wo meguru kōsatsu” 敦煌画「虎をつれた行脚僧」をめぐる考察 — ペリオ将来絹絵二遺例の紹介を中心に, in: *Bijutsu Kenkyū* 美術研究 [The Journal of Art Studies], Tokyo: The Tokyo Research Institute for Cultural Properties 東京文化財研究所, no. 238: 1~21.

Arami, Hiroshi 荒見泰史

2003 “Hen to Henbun” 変と変文, in: *Kokubungaku Kaishaku to Kanshō* 国文学解釈と鑑賞 (Tokyo: Shibundō 至文堂), no. 68.6: 72~89.

2010 *Dunhuang Bianwen Xieben de Yanjiu* 敦煌變文寫本的研究, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局 (華林博士文庫, 9).

BHS = Buddhist Hybrid Sanskrit

Chavannes, Édouard

1903 “Voyage de Song-yun dans l’Udyāna et le Gandhāra: 518-522 p. C.”, in: *Bulletin de l’Ecole française d’Extrême-Orient*, 3: 379~441.

Feltham, Heleanor

2012 *Encounter with a Tiger Traveling West*, Sino-Platonic Papers, no. 231, Philadelphia: Department of East Asian Languages and Civilizations, University of Pennsylvania.

Guan Dedong 關德棟

1947 “Lüeshuo ‘bian’ zi de lai yuan” 略說“變”字的來源, in: Shanghai Dawanbao 上海大晚報 (14 April 1947) = Zhou / Bai 1982: 235~238.

IBInsc = Keishō Tsukamoto 塚本啓祥, *Indo Bukkyō Himei no Kenkyū* インド仏教碑銘の研究 [A Comprehensive Study of the Indian Buddhist Inscriptions], part I, Text, Notes and Japanese Translation; part II, Indices, Maps and Illustrations; part III, Inscriptions in Northern Areas, Pakistan, Kyoto 1996~2003: Heirakuji Shoten 平樂寺書店.

Kanaoka Shōkō 金岡照光

1990 *Tonkō no Bungaku Bunken* 敦煌の文学文献, ed. Sh. Kanaoka, Tokyo: Daitō Shuppan-sha 大東出版社.

Karashima, Seishi and M. I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya

2015 “The Avadāna Anthology from Merv, Turkmenistan”, in: *Buddhist Manuscripts from Central Asia: The St. Petersburg Sanskrit Fragments* (StPSF), ed. Seishi Karashima and Margarita I. Vorobyova-Desyatovskaya, pp. 145~505.

Kim, Jeong-u 金程宇

2007 *Yuwai Hanji Congkao* 域外漢籍叢考, Beijing: Zhonghua Shuju 中華書局.

Lenz, Timothy

2003 *A New Version of the Gāndhārī Dharmapada and a Collection of Previous-Birth Stories: British Library Kharoṣṭhī Fragments 16 + 25*, Seattle: University of Washington Press (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 3).

2010 *Gandharan Avadanas: British Library Kharosthi Fragments 1-3 and 21 and Supplementary Fragments A-C*, Seattle: University of Washington Press (Gandhāran Buddhist Texts 6).

Mair, Victor H.

1986 “The Origins of an Iconographical Form of the Pilgrim Hsuan-tsang”, in: *Tang Studies* 4: 29~42. Boston: Maney Publishing.

1988 *Painting and Performance: Picture Recitation and Its Indian Genesis*, Honolulu: University of Hawai‘i Press.

1989 *T'ang Transformation Texts: A Study of the Buddhist Contribution to the Rise of Vernacular Fiction and Drama in China*, Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press (Harvard-Yenching Institute Monograph Series, 28).

MC = Middle Chinese reconstruction of the *Qieyun* 切韻 system

National Museum of Korea

1986 *Jungang Asia Misul: Guglib Jung-ang Bagmulgwan Sojang* 中央아시아美術: 國立中央博物館所藏國立中央博物館, Seoul: Samhwa Chulpansa 三和出版社.

Rao Zongyi 饒宗頤

1980 “Cong ‘Shanbian’ lun bianwen yu tuhui zhi guanxi” 從「談變」論變文與圖繪之關係, in: *Tōyōgaku Ronshū: Ikeda Suetoshi Hakushi Kokikinen* 東洋學論集: 池田末利博士古稀記念, Hiroshima: Ikeda Suetoshi Hakushi Kokikinen Jigyō Jikkō I'inkai 池田末利博士古稀記念事業實行委員會, pp. 627~640 = 1993: 319~335.

1993 *Fanxue ji* 梵學集, Shanghai: Shanghaiguji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.

Sadakata, Akira 定方晟

1980 “Jakuli futo no na ni tsuite” 雀離浮図の名について, in: *Indogaku Bukkyōgaku Kenkyū*, 印度學佛教學研究 [*Journal of Indian and Buddhist Studies*], 57: 31~36.

s.e. = scribal error

Skt = Sanskrit

Sp = *Samantapāsādikā*, Buddhaghosa's Commentary on the *Vinaya Piṭaka*, ed. J. Takakusu and M. Nagai, 7 vols., London 1924~1947: PTS, <sup>2</sup>1966~1982.

SP = *Saddharmapundarīka*, ed. Hendrik Kern and Bunyiu Nanjio, St. Petersburg 1908~12: Académie Impériale des Sciences (Bibliotheca Buddhica X); repr.: Tokyo 1977: Meicho-Fukyū-Kai.

Sp(Ch.tr) = *Shan-Chien-P'i-P'o-Sha* 善見律毘婆沙: *A Chinese version by Saṅghabhadra of Samantapāsādikā: Commentary on Pali Vinaya*, trans. by P.V. Bapat, in collaboration with A. Hirakawa, Poona 1970: Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute (Bhandarkar Oriental Series, no. 10).

T = *Taishō Shinshū Daizōkyō* 大正新修大藏經, ed. Junjirō Takakusu 高楠順次郎, Kaikyoku Watanabe 渡邊海旭, 100 vols., Tokyo 1924~1934.

TAK = *Tāntrikābhidhānakośa* = *Dictionnaire des termes techniques de la littérature hindoue tantrique* = *A Dictionary of Technical Terms from Hindu Tantric Literature* = *Wörterbuch zur Terminologie hinduistischer Tantrén*, sous la direction de H. Brunner, G. Oberhammer *et al.*, I (2000), II (2004), III (2013); Wien: Verlag der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (Österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, 681, 714, 839; Beiträge zur Kultur- und Geistesgeschichte Asiens, Nr. 35, 44, 76).

Takai Ryū 高井 龍

2010 “‘Hen’ kara ‘Henbun’ e” “変”から“変文”へ, in: *Ajia Shakai Bunka Kenkyū* アジア社会文化研究 (Hiroshima) 11: 58~82.

2011 “‘Kongō Shūjo en’ shahon no kisoteki kenkyū” 「金剛醜女縁」寫本の基礎的研究, in: *Tonkō Shahon Kenkyū Nenpō* 敦煌寫本研究年報 (Kyoto) 5: 257~285.

Whitfield, Susan

2004 *The Silk Road: Trade, Travel, War and Faith*, ed. Susan Whitfield with Ursula Sims-Williams, Chicago: Serindia Publications.

Wu Hung

1992 “What is Bianxiang? — On The Relationship Between Dunhuang Art and Dunhuang Literature”, in: *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies*, vol. 52, no. 1: 111~192.

X = *Wan Xinzuan Xuzang* 卅新纂續藏 = *Shinsan Dainippon Zoku Zōkyō* 新纂大日本續藏經, ed. Koshō Kawamura 河村孝照 *et al.*, Tokyo 1975~1989: Kokusho Kankōkai 国書刊行会, 90 vols.

Xie Jisheng 谢继胜 (ed.)

2010 *Zangchuan Fojiao Yishu Fazhanshi* 藏传佛教艺术发展史, ed. Xie Jisheng 谢继胜, Shanghai: Shanghai Shuhua Chubanshe 上海書畫出版社, 2 vols.

Yu Xiangdong 于向东

2009 *Dunhuang Bianxiang yu Bianwen Yanjiu* 敦煌变相与变文研究, Lanzhou 兰州: Gansu Jiaoyu Chubanshe 甘肃教育出版社.

Zheng Acai 鄭阿財

2011 “Dunhuang jiangjingwen shifou wei bianwen zhengyi zhi pingyi” 敦煌講經文是否爲變文爭議之平議, in: *Dunhuang Tulufan Yanjiu* 敦煌吐魯番研究 (Shanghai), 12: 303~321.

Zhou Shaoliang 周紹良 and Bai Huawen 白化文

1982 *Dunhuang Bianwen Lunwenlu* 敦煌變文論文錄, Shanghai: Shanghai guji Chubanshe 上海古籍出版社.

Zhou Yiliang 周一良

1947 “Du Tangdai Sujiang kao” 讀《唐代俗講考》, in: *Tianjin Dagongbao Tushu Zhoukan* 天津大公報圖書週刊, no. 6 = 1996: 162~169 = 1998: 294~302 = Zhou / Bai 1982: 157~164.

1996 *Tangdai Mizong* 唐代密宗, translated by Qian Wenzhong 錢文忠, Shanghai: Shanghai Yuandong Chubanshe 上海遠東出版社.

1998 *Zhou Yiliang ji* 周一良集, vol. 3, *Fojiaoshi yu Dunhuangxue* 佛教史與敦煌學, Shenyang 瀋陽: Liaoning Jiaoyu Chubanshe 遼寧教育出版社.

\* = a hypothetical form which is not attested anywhere, e.g. \**snāru*

{ } = superfluous Chinese character (or *akṣara*)

< > = omitted Chinese character(s) (or *akṣara*[s])

← = α ← β: the Chinese character (or Sanskrit form) β should be changed to α

- = absence of the parallel(s)